

Racism, Unemployment, Cop Terror—

Thatcher's Britain Burns

LONDON, July 13—On Friday evening, July 3, police from all over West London rushed into the heavily Asian Southall area to protect an invading mob of fascist "skinheads" from their intended victims. That same night in Toxteth, the sprawling slum district of Liverpool known as "Liverpool 8," a crowd of youth came to the aid of a young black motorcyclist being dragged away on a false theft charge. In the ten days since, the flames ignited that night have spread to more than a dozen cities, the total number of arrests has mounted to well over 2,000, and the mythologised Britain of the orderly bus queue and the "unarmed" bobby has been made a thing of the past. The tourists beckoned to London by the decadent pomp of the upcoming Royal Wedding found burnt-out buildings and boarded-up shop windows. The "troubles" had come to Britain.

Now it was clear that earlier outbursts in Brixton and Bristol were the rumblings of a volcanic social explosion that was rocking the whole of Britain. So widespread and so intense were the upheavals that it was hard to miss the connexion between the eruption on the streets and the policies of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Sections of the bourgeoisie, commentators and the man on the street understood that 40 percent youth unemployment was simply intolerable. Even the head of the Methodist Church explained that it was the government which had driven the youth to desperation. Thatcher tried to

Thatcher's racist
bobbies
rampage in
Liverpool. Cops
out of the
ghettos!



Gamma

counter with supreme arrogance in a TV performance blaming the youth and their parents who do not "teach our children" to obey the law. She asserted that poverty and violence have no connexion, and told an MP that "there are many poor societies which are scrupulously honourable." Despite her doctrine of "honourable poverty" for England, even she had to admit that

economic conditions were behind the explosions.

Although Thatcher took political centre stage as Labour's MPs yelled in Parliament that she was "a stupid woman," more than the failure of policy was caught in the heat of fire. The days of raging anger raised the most basic social questions for the rotting British economic order. (No doubt the Ronald

Reagan gang who have been executing cuts with a similar social vengeance watched with anxious foreboding as England's cities burned from coast to coast.) Thatcher's Britain had ignited on its most volatile social periphery, jobless youth, but at the strategic center of the class struggle, the working class was bearing the weight of decades of decay

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Outraged Transit Workers Protest

New York TA Killed Jesse Cole

The signal lights were out along the whole stretch of track in Brooklyn where the Manhattan-bound IRT Number 2 train comes down off the elevated into the tunnel. When motorman Jesse Cole approached that Friday afternoon, July 3, driving the 1:42 out of New Lots Ave., no red lights flashed, no trip arms went up, no flagmen were in sight to warn of the danger ahead. Unknown to him, a second train was stopped just inside the tunnel. When Cole's train plowed into its rear, 135 people were injured in the crash. The motorman's cab crumpled up like a metal accordion, trapping Cole inside. It took them about four hours before they eventually got him out. He bled to death in three. The NY Transit Authority killed Jesse Cole.

Even while Jesse Cole was bleeding to death inside his cab, moaning for help, TA chief John Simpson was holding a press conference amid the wreckage... to pin the rap on the victim. His eyes on the insurance companies, Simpson blamed the crash on "human error,"

denounced Cole for not following "the rules of the railroad" and accused him of going past five dead signal lights without radio authority. Showing how little they were concerned about a serious rescue operation, the TA didn't turn off the power for at least 40 minutes. They never even brought ordinary metal-cutting equipment, of the type carried by car and truck emergency units, to Jesse Cole's crushed cab, until it was too late.

It was a gratuitous, incredible attempt to scapegoat the dying black motorman for a crash caused by the deathtrap NYC subway system, which even management admitted is falling apart. The malfunctioning signal lights had been installed in 1918 (!) and, with the maintenance cutbacks, were not due for replacement till 1994. The crash came in the wake of the latest TA crusade over "low productivity" against Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 100. *The very morning of Jesse Cole's death, a*

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WV Photo

Transit workers won't forget who killed Jesse Cole.

SWP's Lying Frame-Up of Hedda Garza

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has added a bizarre note to its current civil suit against the FBI by charging ex-SWP member Hedda Garza with collaborating with the government in trying to "link the socialists to the illegal funding of a foreign guerrilla movement." "Ex-SWP Member Testifies for FBI" blared a headline in the 26 June issue of the SWP's *Militant*. "At two secret meetings," says the article, Garza "discussed her cooked-up story with Edward Williams, the head attorney for the government."

Garza took the stand June 12 in reply to a government subpoena. She was quizzed by Williams about conversations she had with Hugo González Moscoso—a leader of the Bolivian section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) with which the SWP is "fraternally associated"—during his 1967 visit to the U.S. During this visit González Moscoso stayed at the home of Dick and Hedda Garza, then both members of the SWP.

At issue was a government allegation that the SWP had passed money to González Moscoso in a movie theatre where he and several leading SWPers had gone to see the film *Battle of Algiers*. Throughout the trial the SWP has denied giving money to González Moscoso then or at any other time. "It was only with Garza's appearance on the stand," says the *Militant*, "that her role in manufacturing these charges became clear.... It is now established that Garza met secretly with FBI lawyers...."

In court on June 12, SWP chief counsel Margaret Winter asked Garza if she had had private meetings with government attorneys. Garza said no. Then Williams approached the bench and told the judge that he had met with Garza off the record on two occasions, first following her appearance for pre-trial deposition and again at a restaurant, and that they had discussed her upcoming testimony.

Following the appearance of the 26 June *Militant* article, *WV* received a mailing from Hedda Garza which included photocopies of the *Militant* article and of the official court transcript of Garza's June 12 testimony, along with a mimeographed statement by Garza dated 17 June in which she denies having met privately with Williams.

Review of the court transcript confirms that the SWP article is a malicious smear job. The headline is a lie: Garza did not testify "for the FBI" any more than did the several SWPers called as government witnesses. She did testify

for the SWP. The SWP is quite explicit that the alleged meetings with Williams were briefings: she was coached to say what she did. Okay, what did she say? Here is the key fragment of Garza's testimony, taken from the court record:

"Garza: [González Moscoso] described what the situation was in Bolivia and that they were being attacked and arrested.... He said that he had come to get aid for his struggle there, yes, and that he had also come for medical attention."

"Williams: And did he say to you or indicate to you that he had obtained the aid that he sought?"

"Garza: Yes, he said that he had gotten what he came for."

"Williams: And what was that? Did he indicate what the aid was? Did he indicate it was money or arms or munitions?"

"Garza: Presumably financial. He said he had come for financial aid."

"Williams: And did he indicate to you who he had obtained that aid from?"

"Garza: No, he did not."

"Williams: Did he indicate to you that it was obtained from the SWP?"

"Garza: No, he didn't say he obtained anything from the SWP."

As Garza notes in her 17 June statement, her testimony supported that of SWP head Jack Barnes, who acknowledged that González Moscoso might well have received financial help during his visit to the U.S., but not from the SWP. An interview in the 24 April *Militant* had quoted Barnes:

"In pre-trial testimony I told the government lawyers that when González Moscoso came to this country there was deep repression in Bolivia.... So it's entirely possible that people in this country would have raised money to help their families. González Moscoso may have gotten money from some of them.... But the SWP did not give him any money, and he did not ask us for any."

On the face of it, then, the SWP's allegation that Garza told the court what the FBI wanted to hear is simply false. The substance of the *Militant* article itself refutes the headline's claim that Garza testified "for FBI," for the quotations from Garza's testimony include her denial that González Moscoso ever said he had received money from the SWP. Perhaps the SWP noticed the problem, for the 10 July issue of the *Militant* slid over into unequivocal lying. The "Day by Day—What Happened in Court" column reports on Dick "Catarino" Garza's June 25 testimony as follows:

"Day 54: Thursday, June 25—SWP leader Catarino Garza says Bolivian revolutionary Hugo González Moscoso stayed with him and his wife in 1967, but denies testimony of Hedda Garza that González Moscoso had told him the SWP had given him money."

The court transcript of Hedda Garza's testimony and the initial *Militant* article

show this to be a pure, vicious fabrication.

Somebody Committed Perjury

The incident the SWP uses as foundation for its lies is FBI attorney Williams' claim that Garza perjured herself on the stand when she denied having met with him privately. It is clear that somebody committed perjury in federal court on June 12—either Garza or Williams. The SWP chooses to believe Williams:

"On pain of placing himself in the position of knowingly allowing perjured testimony to enter the record—for which he could be found in contempt of court—Williams was forced to disavow the FBI's own star witness of the day."

What? Can the SWP seriously mean to suggest it is convinced that the chief government attorney has not "knowingly allowed perjured testimony to enter the record"?—this in a trial in which mountains of lying testimony of FBI bureaucrats and innumerable perjured sworn statements by FBI spies and provocateurs represent the core of the government's "case" against the SWP!

If the SWP has any reason other than its faith in the government's integrity to accuse Garza of perjury, they aren't saying. Despite repeated phone calls by *WV*, the SWP refused to comment; Garza herself cancelled an appointment to meet with a *WV* reporter saying she had been advised by her political friends not to talk at this time. Like most of us would say about "who shot Kennedy?": We don't know, we weren't there. And it is by no means clear that the "impartial Left commission of inquiry" Garza calls for in her 17 June statement would be able to develop further evidence. The kinds of things that could possibly resolve the matter—e.g., internal memos by Williams on the alleged conversations, FBI agents' reports that they were following Garza someplace else at the time the meetings are supposed to have taken place—require the application of bourgeois state power to compel disclosure and are quite beyond the present reach of any workers commission of inquiry. Garza is left in an unenviable position, charged with indefensible conduct, with no apparent way to establish the facts.

The SWP's touching faith in its bourgeois state antagonists to the contrary, government prosecutors, state and federal, are notorious for their lying, their concealing and inventing of evidence. Those who know Hedda Garza know her as aggressively emotional and no genius. Her 17 June statement seems to honestly describe her very frightened, panicky state of mind throughout. It is not clear to us whether,

as a third party in a civil proceeding, she could not simply have refused to appear for any pre-trial deposition. The FBI would reasonably expect she might be vulnerable to its pressure. It is entirely possible that the government, knowing full well the hostility between Garza and the SWP and between Garza and her ex-husband, SWP leader Dick Garza, tried to intimidate Garza into testifying against the SWP; perhaps when she did not say what they wanted in court, they vindictively unleashed the SWP against her.

Certainly the *Militant* article reeks with malice. The article displays blithe unconcern for Garza as a target of past and possible future government witch-hunting. It suppresses one important fact about her court appearance: that it began with a lengthy presentation by Garza's lawyer challenging the government's subpoena on the grounds it may have derived from illegal electronic surveillance. To say the least, the *Militant* does not seem to share Garza's objections to having been the target of FBI spying. According to the court record, the government admitted to electronic surveillance of Garza without a warrant on two occasions. The *Militant* has not a word to say about this infringement of Garza's rights.

Indeed, the *Militant* tries to present Garza as an embittered ex-leftist:

"Hedda Garza split from the SWP in 1974, along with other members of the Internationalist Tendency (IT) grouping. A number of former members of the IT have since rejoined the SWP. Garza, however, has remained bitterly hostile to the party."

In fact, under SWP cross-examination, Garza had described her efforts to carry out the USec majority's cynical program for the expelled ITers—that they should acquiesce to their political destruction by seeking individual readmission to the SWP. In 1975 or 1976, Garza testified, she sought readmission but the SWP refused to assign her to a branch or give her assignments. A year or so later, she says, she again sought to rejoin; she was assigned to a branch and worked with the SWP for "close to two years" without being accepted. Finally she was granted "provisional membership status" which was soon withdrawn. Her 17 July document notes that her appeal to the USec is still pending.

Now, we know how little the bureaucratic SWP longs to have oppositionists in the party. But surely a desire to irreparably damage Garza's appeal is not a sufficient motive for the hatchet job the *Militant* has just carried out against her. A more credible reason for the SWP's demonstrated malice is probably the government's efforts to

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Letter

July 12, 1981

Dear *WV*,

As a member of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) I wanted to add a couple of points you missed in your article on the postal workers.

First of all, let me emphasize how outrageous Postmaster General Bolger was in the pre-contract period. Not only did he unilaterally announce that there would be no bargaining, but he circumvented the union negotiating committee and sent an incredibly provocative letter to every postal worker in the U.S. In this letter he proposed to extend the contract in certain limited areas should the NLRB process last beyond July 20th. For example, Bolger arrogantly announced that he would extend the grievance procedure to cover only discipline cases but not grievances on contractual violations. At that point our

union leaders should have made it clear that the union stands opposed to any contract extension (no contract, no work) and should have mobilized for a strike.

But what did they actually do in response? As NALC president Sombrotto said in the June *Postal Record* (monthly journal of the NALC), "Certainly, APWU president Moe Biller and I have done everything in our power to solve this problem peacefully and legally and responsibly. Yes, we have been 'responsible' because up to this point, we have tried to keep this fight where it belongs—before the NLRB, the Congress, and the court of public opinion." The one thing they haven't done yet is mobilize our unions for a national strike to defend our unions and our jobs.

As for June 25th, the national postal action day, *WV* gives these bureaucrats too much credit, calling it a "nationwide

picket." It was a totally impotent informational picket line specifically designed not to disrupt any postal activities. "Picketing will occur after work hours—thus, it is perfectly within the law and you cannot be disciplined for such activities" (Letter to the membership from Biller and Sombrotto). And what about those workers who work a late shift? They were encouraged to cross the picket lines!

"Picket lines mean don't cross" is one of the basic principles of the labor movement and it is the way you win strikes. Postal workers have shown that they have the power to strike and win against the Post Office, but not if they rely on the "responsible, legal, peaceful" policies of sellouts like Vince Sombrotto and Moe Biller.

D.C.

West Coast postal worker

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Chicago, May 30: Stalinists call capitalist cops to cordon off Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

WV Photo

Chicago SL Campaign Exposes Stalinist Exclusion

CP Nailed for Calling Cops on Revolutionaries

CHICAGO—As protest against U.S. involvement in El Salvador has become the cutting edge for opposition to Reagan's war-drive austerity, various reformist left groups are scrambling for a fight-the-right, anti-Reagan coalition with "progressive" Democrats. And as a direct consequence the reformists have gone into a frenzy of anti-communist slander and physical goon attacks against the Spartacist League. They resort to this petty gangsterism because our call for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador" is the obvious, necessary and only revolutionary policy, and they cannot politically defend their own refusal to raise this. They do it because our slogan "Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador" raises the urgent central question which they must duck in order to court the Democratic Party liberals. So now they run to the armed thugs of the capitalist state to "get" the reds.

On May 30 in Chicago a lash-up of liberals and much of the reformist left, led by the Communist Party, called upon the racist cops to exclude the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. The SL/SYL had mobilized a 150-strong Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march in a demonstration sponsored by the "May 30 Coalition." But even before the march began, CP supporters set us up by bringing in the police to keep out our contingent. The Stalinists and their fellow travelers (the Mao-to-

Brezhnev popular fronters of the "Trend" and the Citizens Party for no-nuke capitalism) organized marshals to form a human chain with the police and block our entry. As a result of this disgusting bloc of cops and finks, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent was kept up to 75 feet behind the march by an armed cordon of police. At the closing rally we were isolated across the street by a wall of cossacks on horseback.

Since the bureaucratic degeneration of the CP in the late 1920s, the Stalinist reformists have acted as provocateurs against Trotskyists (and anyone else who fights for workers revolution), while flinging mud to cover their own crimes. But this time the Big Lie is not going down so well. Too many people saw the CP do its dirty work; too many have their own axe to grind against the Stalinists' strongarm tactics. An SL-initiated protest statement (see box) has been signed by, among others, the Chicago Communist Workers Party (CWP), Red Rose Collective leader Bill Pelz, and independent members of the Madison, Wisconsin Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). Iowa CP member Mike Messina demanded that this vile cop exclusion be repudiated at the next central committee meeting (see "Letter to the Communist Party," WV No. 283, 19 June). And the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) issued a statement condemning the cop exclusion, as

did Earl Silbar, a well-known independent close to the Trend.

Once the dirty work was done, the CP started denying it had brought the cops in. But we have the goods on Sylvia Kushner, the CP fink who called the cops. Before the march began, police asked Les Friedman, a leader of the Jewish organization Chutzpah and steering committee member of the Anti-Klan Coalition, "What group of revolutionaries should we keep out?" When Friedman saw that the Spartacists were being excluded by a line of cops and Coalition marshals, he complained to leading CP supporter Jack Spiegel, who first claimed ignorance and later began cop-baiting the SL. When a Puerto Rican nationalist group, the FLN, was stopped by the police from joining the demo, Friedman protested to the cops, who answered: "Not until Sylvia Kushner says it's okay to let them in" (from affidavit by Les Friedman).

Rael Garcia of the CWP directly witnessed Kushner's treacherous actions. He writes: "I was a marshal the day of May 30th and also helped organize the marshals for the march. When I heard Sylvia Kushner (known CP associate) tell the police to separate the 'Sparks' '50 feet' from the rest of the march I was outraged. Not 5 days earlier a final marshals meeting voted and agreed *not* to have the police or government intervene in the exclusion or security of said march. Particularly

the police would not exclude the Spartacists.... I condemn the actions of Sylvia Kushner" (from affidavit by Rael Garcia, June 25). The "Trend," which eagerly gooned for the CP on May 30, followed up with slander stories that the SL had "attacked" the New World Resource Center on May 29. This is a lie. RSL supporter Doug Clark, who was present at the meeting, has testified that: "The scuffle was initiated by the NWRC squad. The SL attacked no one."

Communist Party: we have nailed you with the truth. You are the disrupters who bring the capitalist police into the workers movement and resort to despicable practices of slander and bureaucratic exclusion. And there could well have been a blood line in Chicago May 30. The Red Squad didn't call out the troops merely as a favor to the CP. The CP gave the go-ahead, but the whole operation stinks of the FBI. The cops aren't known for drawing fine distinctions between the genuine communists of the Spartacist League and the left-liberal "Coalition." The stage was set for a bloodbath! We heard one cop say to another, "If this was another country, they'd *all* be dead." No leftist demonstrator was safe that day, and the responsibility for that lies squarely with the CP and its camp followers.

Reformists who seek to keep "their" demonstrations "respectable" for Democratic Party "doves" figure they cannot afford to have their supporters exposed to a revolutionary program for El Salvador. They cannot tolerate the slogans defending the Soviet Union, which would scare away the Teddy Kennedys. That's why they call the cops on communists while calling for a "political solution" with elements of the murderous junta in El Salvador. To sell this line they hide behind the skirts of the Salvadoran FDR, the popular front with bourgeois politicians (most of them ex-junta members). Behind the talk of "negotiated settlement" the real purpose is to preserve capitalist rule, which

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Condemn CP/Cop Exclusion

On May 30, 1981 a Spartacist League initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent attempted to join a march and rally against U.S. involvement in El Salvador, sponsored in Chicago by the May 30 Coalition (and organized primarily by the Communist Party). Official May 30 Coalition marshals called in and joined with the Chicago Police Force to isolate the Anti-Imperialist Contingent behind a cordon of armed police during the march and to exclude it from the rally. As the

march left the assembly site, May 30 Coalition marshals and police joined together in a human chain to prevent entry of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent into the march. There were no actions whatsoever on the part of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent which could be cited to justify such undemocratic behavior. While there are well-known differences between the politics represented by the Anti-Imperialist Contingent and those of the organizations

comprising the May 30 Coalition, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent clearly had every right to participate in the march and rally.

Although not necessarily endorsing or agreeing with all of the slogans of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, the undersigned condemn the collaboration with the armed force of the U.S. government to carry out an obvious political exclusion. The Chicago police carried out Mayor Daley's "shoot to kill" orders during the 1967 ghetto rebellions, brutally beat thousands of anti-war demonstrators and bystanders outside the 1968 Democratic Convention, and

maintain a "Red Squad" which murdered Fred Hampton in his bed and has conducted extensive harassment and surveillance of left-wing and minority organizations. It has come to our attention that on May 30 police interfered with basic First Amendment rights by harassing press reporters and threatening literature distributors with arrest. Bringing in the government against left-wing demonstrators represents a grave danger, as do political exclusionism and the stifling of democratic debate. Such undemocratic practices can only result in injury to the entire labor and socialist movement and the democratic rights of all.

New York TA Killed Jesse Cole!

Bosses Blame Victim As They Let Him Bleed to Death

(continued from page 1)

racist, rabidly anti-union *Daily News* (3 July) editorial urged the public to "tar and feather" the "surly, lazy goof-offs" and "money-grabbing goldbricks" of the transit workers.

Moreover, the crash came the same day the fare rose to 75 cents, while train delays, overcrowding and shortage of buses have been driving the riders mad. To top it off, there was a heat wave and the transit air-conditioning promptly broke down, subjecting trainmen and passengers to suffocating heat. And city unions are still reeling from the 60,000 layoffs during the 1975-77 "financial crisis." Here was an opportunity to unite the mass of the New York City population behind the powerful TWU in a fight against the cutback killers of the TA, the bloodsucking banks of Wall Street, the cynical bourgeois politicians. Transit should have walked out, the whole goddamn city should have been shut down because that black worker was crushed to death and then scapegoated for a wreck caused by a deliberate capitalist program to run the transit system, and most other social services, into the ground!

It was in this context that the leaflet put out by angry transit workers touched such a chord in MTA yards and terminals across the city (see box). "Jesse Cole was killed by the Transit Authority," they charged; the "faulty signals, crumbling structures, smoking fires, cracked undercarriages were but a few of the *thousands* of booby traps waiting to claim future victims." They called for "No 'business as usual' on Wednesday.... 30,000 TWU brothers and sisters should be at Jesse's funeral." Their attempt to organize a memorial stoppage could not only focus the hatred and disgust against this wanton killing of their union brother, but also draw the rest of the city unions and working people into a mammoth protest against the bosses' murderous "austerity" program for decaying New York.

Death by Signal Failure

During the next few days the press was flooded with accounts of how train crews are routinely told to operate trains with impaired headlights or taillights, inoperative horns, broken windshield wipers. Even Simpson admitted that many cars in service have dead motors. Defective signals are everywhere, but "keep the railroad moving" is the



watchword. The particular section of track from New Lots to Utica Avenue where the crash occurred was the most decrepit section of a decrepit system—known among the men as the "Beast from the East" because of constant signal failures, radio "dead spots," falling mortar and bricks all along the route.

This is the hellhole of malfunctioning equipment, management capriciousness and death which transit workers are sent down into every day. This conscious management policy of deliberate disrepair and neglect, growing out of the bourgeoisie's united decision to gut NYC unions and services, even has a name: "deferred maintenance"! The *New York Times* (12 July) reported that 169 signal maintenance workers were eliminated in the 1975-77 NYC financial crisis, for an annual savings of \$3.7 million. Only 29 of these jobs were later restored! And the very day of Jesse Cole's funeral, the TA announced on top of the 25 percent fare increase another \$17.5 million in transit cuts, including axing the Franklin Avenue Shuttle and the JFK "train to the plane," cutting token booth service at another 66 stations, and cutbacks in car cleaning. Cars which now have the filthy graffiti cleaned off them once every 20

weeks will be cleaned once every 64 weeks; floors will be mopped only once every 12 weeks!

Simpson's lying frame-up of Jesse Cole soon came apart. Now the TA admits there is no evidence Cole's radio was working at all. Moreover, the tunnel portal was a notorious "dead spot." Simpson himself admitted the command center did not even try to warn Cole because, according to the schedule, Cole's train was still supposed to be in-station at New Lots. Yet the bosses also now agree that Cole had been ordered by the local dispatchers to take his train out early. Not only were the signals out, but they had their trip-arms deliberately hooked down so that there was nothing to stop the train! And there were no flagmen as required by the "rules of the railroad" Simpson accused the dying Cole of breaking.

Jesse Cole was framed up. An 11-year veteran in the New York transit system, he was known to his fellow workers as "a very good motorman" who "cared about his job." And the day before, another transit worker, Al Lamberti, a trackman, was killed, run over by a train. Then, too, Simpson blamed it on "human error." What really has transit workers up in arms is how the TA let

Jesse slowly die trapped in the cab. At the funeral, *WV* and other papers interviewed Earl English, the conductor on Jesse Cole's train, who told how they tried to get the dying motorman out with their bare hands:

"He says, 'English, get me out of here.' I tried to get him out but I couldn't.... They came down there with a circle saw that you cut wood with, with teeth in it. They didn't even have a metal ripper.... The cops were down there with a crowbar. I did more with my bare hands than the cops did with a crowbar."

So outraged TWUers have some unanswered questions, hard ones: (1) Why did it take as much as *three hours* to bring up the "jaws-of-life," an ordinary piece of equipment carried by many emergency crash units? (2) Why did it take *40 minutes* after the accident to turn off the third rail? Fire and rescue crews are reluctant to work and bring in any equipment when the power is on. And there are other questions for which it isn't hard to figure out answers. One transit worker expressed the feelings of many. "Put the blame where the blame is due—the system's dilapidated and old. But they're trying to get him because of the lawsuits—dead men can't tell any tales." If the TA can get its "human error" story to stick, it will cheat Jesse Cole's widow out of the death benefits.

No "Business as Usual" on Wednesday

Transit workers all over New York were boiling mad at how they let Jesse die and then framed him up. More than 150 TWU members signed the leaflet calling for "all out" at the funeral on Wednesday. In addition to scores of rank-and-file members who circulated the leaflet, it was also signed by "ex-dissidents" now in Local 100 official positions, exec board members and shop chairmen. Jesse Cole's brother and his brother-in-law (a transit worker) both endorsed it.

When militants brought the leaflets into bus depots, train barns and repair yards, transit workers snatched them up; everywhere conversations broke out. It was a life-and-death question. What happened to Jesse could have happened to any motorman and coming to his funeral was an elementary act of respect and solidarity. The protesting TWUers began leafleting early in the morning: "A downtown A train, an uptown F, a downtown F train, then an uptown AA, an uptown D, a downtown D... and by 7 o'clock I had to report to work." Within an hour to an hour-and-a-half, "we had leaflets to every crew room in the system.... I didn't hear of anybody refusing." At one terminal a militant shut off the TV in the crew room, climbed up on a bench and said, "We just want to be there tomorrow to bury Jesse. The Transit Authority killed him. Those trains and buses shouldn't roll tomorrow."

Where did the union leadership stand? Local 100 president John Lawe and his cronies went all out, all right... to try and sabotage their own members' action. As protest was mounting in the shops, the bureaucracy first tried to claim the Cole family didn't want the union members at Jesse's funeral. His brother-in-law called up to denounce this as a lie. The family insisted, "That'll be beautiful... you have my permission" to the effort to bring the union brothers out to show their sympathy for Cole. When his vicious ploy didn't work, Lawe circulated a counter-leaflet for an

Jesse Cole's Death Was An Outrage!

We Won't Pay with Our Lives!

The following leaflet by TWU Local 100 militants was signed by more than 150 union members.

Motorman Jesse Cole was killed by the Transit Authority! The New York City transit system is a death trap. Why? Because the banks, the mayor, the governor made it that way!

Faulty signals, crumbling structures, incessant smoking fires, cracked undercarriages—these are but a few of the *thousands* of booby traps waiting to claim future victims. And not just

transit workers like Jesse and trackman Alfred Lamberti, who was run down the day before in a clear case of management negligence. The hundreds of passengers injured in last Friday's collision and all riders—working people in the main like ourselves—*risk their lives every day!*

A dead man can't talk. Simpson scapegoated Jesse to the press while he bled to death in his crumpled cab. Why did it take *four hours*, why wasn't the necessary equipment readily available to free this man from the wreckage?

Simpson and Koch can now blame a silent witness for this tragedy. But *Jesse Cole is not to blame!* Transit workers didn't run this system into the ground, the bosses did. According to the *Daily News*, Jesse was one of those "money grabbing goldbrickers" who deserved to be "tarred and feathered," as they editorialized on the very morning of his death. To us he was a brother who fell victim to the bosses' war on the unions and all working people in this city.

Jesse's funeral will be Wednesday, July 8. No "business as usual" on Wednesday! The TWU should make Wednesday a day to commemorate our fallen brother. Enough! We won't pay for the bosses' transit crisis with our lives! 30,000 TWU brothers and sisters should be at Jesse's funeral! Call the union if you agree: 873-6000.

Victory to Canada Postal Strike!

TORONTO—At midnight June 29 the 23,000 members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) walked off the job in a nationwide postal strike. Picket lines were set up at major postal installations across the country. In the tradition of labor solidarity established over the past few years, postal truck drivers in the major centers, members of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), refused to cross the CUPW lines. Within days Canadian postal service had ground to a halt.

Once again postal workers were on the front lines in a battle for all Canadian labor. Talk of reimposing wage controls is circulating in Ottawa and the Trudeau government has declared that its phony "war on inflation" will begin with its own employees—in particular the militant postal unions which have traditionally stood in the forefront of winning gains for all public sector workers. The big business press is screaming for strike-breaking legislation to order CUPW strikers back on the job. But the government thinks it can starve the postal workers into submission to an austerity contract. Refusing to give an inch, Donald Johnston, head of the Treasury Board (the government's negotiating body), has indicated that he is willing to sit out a long, hot strike in the post office.

Militants on the picket lines recall the "illegal" postal wildcats in the 1960s that won the right to strike for all government workers. Today again postal workers have the opportunity to lead the Canadian working class in a struggle against government austerity, strike-breaking and union-busting. Meanwhile, the hardlining Reagan administration is pushing U.S. postal unions toward a strike as contracts run out at the end of July. Although labor misleaders on both sides of the border are unprepared to wage a militant class struggle, the possibility is there for a powerful postal walkout throughout North America.

From the start the CUPW tops have

been more than willing to buy a sellout deal based on the paltry recommendations of the chairman of the conciliation board—a miserly 70 cents-an-hour wage increase, a cost-of-living allowance that doesn't trigger until inflation rises another 6 percent, "investigation" into the use of TV surveillance of inside postal workers, and one seven-week paid maternity leave. Nine days into the strike union president Jean-Claude Parrot said he would drop even his pitiful "condition" (that the government

maintenance workers organized by the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) are daily crossing the line. Militants must demand mass mobilizations to enforce the picket line and must put forward a program to win: a big wage increase, full uncapped COLA, a shorter workweek at no loss of pay to beat back job loss and speed-up, the right to refuse unsafe work, an end to management harassment and surveillance and the unconditional right to strike.



Spartacist Canada

CUPW pickets at Toronto post office in 1978 strike which ended when Parrot caved in to government repression.

accept the conciliation board report) for returning to the bargaining table. In exchange he demanded that Michael Warren be sitting across the table. (Warren is to be top boss when the post office is converted into a crown corporation, a semi-autonomous government-run business.) The government's answer was no.

Postal workers cannot afford to leave the conduct of the strike in the hands of the vacillating CUPW bureaucracy. Already CUPW picketers in Toronto are complaining bitterly over the disorganization of the strike there and the lack of effective picket lines—clerks and

The government is using the rotten deal it made with the leadership of the LCUC, the other major postal union, as a club against CUPW. In the face of increased job loss and speed-up, the LCUC tops sold a stinking contract to the ranks—agreeing to increase productivity in the name of a phony "free lunch." And the CUPW bureaucracy has done its bit to play along with the government's strategy of exploiting craft divisions separating postal workers to weaken both unions.

This time around Parrot & Co. are asking for an 18-month contract to ensure "labor peace" as the post office

is being converted into a crown corporation—a demand which would end the common expiration dates of the LCUC and CUPW contracts. Postal workers must fight this treachery. LCUC should scrap its sell-out contract and join the CUPW on the picket lines in a nationwide postal strike to win a decent contract and lay the basis for a merged union of all postal workers.

In 1978 the CUPW waged the most dramatic labor showdown in years against the capitalist government, striking for nine days in the face of strikebreaking legislation which carried with it the threat of massive fines, firings and imprisonment. The top leaders of the Canadian labor movement turned their backs on embattled postal workers while Trudeau brought out his cops, courts and secret police of the RCMP to break that strike. Parrot was jailed, other CUPW national executive board members arrested and thousands of CUPW members fired, suspended or disciplined.

All trade unionists—and particularly public sector workers—are paying for this treacherous betrayal. When 5,000 federal clerks organized by PSAC struck last year injunctions were brought down threatening workers who respected lines with fines and firing. Last month Grace Hartman, the national president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees—the largest union in Canada—was jailed for "violating" no-strike legislation. Now is the time to turn the government's union-busting offensive around!

With the backing of the rest of the labor movement, CUPW can win. A victory for the postal workers will be a victory for the entire labor movement! Any attempt to enforce back-to-work legislation must be met with protest strikes and other concrete solidarity action by the entire labor movement. Mass pickets must be built to keep the post office shut down tight! For a joint CUPW/LCUC strike! Smash government union-busting! Victory to the postal workers! ■

"official" protest the following day—a one-hour lunchtime deal at TA headquarters at Jay Street in Brooklyn.

On Wednesday, July 8, some 500 transit workers came up for Jesse Cole's



Higgins/NY Times

Jesse Cole's cab: Why did it take four hours?

funeral in the Parkchester section of the Bronx. An overflow crowd spilled out of the funeral parlor onto the street; overhead passing motormen on the elevated Pelham line slowed their trains and tooted their horns in salute. Boss Simpson had the gall to show up—he was jeered and booed with cries of "You hypocrite!" and "You killed him!" Inside at the service the Rev. Clifton Gatewood of Harlem accused the city of killing Cole: "The city [was] more

interested in the budget than with persons," he said. Then, as uniformed union men lined both sides of the sidewalk, the pall bearers carried Jesse's coffin out to the hearse. As for the union brass, some of the "ex-dissidents" were there, although having done nothing to actually bring the men out. But in an act of racist contempt John Lawe didn't even show up; a union spokesman said he had other things to do.

The next day at Jay Street, the bureaucrats' protest was half-hearted at best. About 350 TWUers picketed outside Simpson's office. Lawe made a brief, defensive appearance amid heckles for his refusal to show up at the funeral services for Cole. Guest of honor was dissident Democratic candidate Frank Barbaro, now posing as a "friend of labor." One TWUer yelled out, "Barbaro, you voted for Big MAC and Big MAC killed Jesse!"

A Socialist Fight to Save New York

The outrage among transit workers over the TA's cold-blooded killing and frame-up of Jesse Cole attracted wide public attention. All the major dailies reported the TWU militants' call for a walkout; every TV station covered the funeral. The reason was obvious: the tremendous social power of the transit union could bring this metropolis, the center of American capitalism, to a grinding halt. This is what could and should have happened. Various self-

proclaimed "socialist" groups also tried to latch onto the protest, without saying anything which could get them in trouble with the TWU tops. *Workers World* quoted from the militant leaflet, but focused on their usual schemes of turnstile jumping and impotent protests by commuter front groups over fare hikes. A leaflet by the Socialist Workers Party could have been titled "Don't Organize, Mourn," saying they were "saddened" by management's "callous disregard" of safety. The Communist Party was pushing the campaign of Democrat Barbaro, now the de facto mayoral candidate of TWU "dissidents" like Arnold Cherry and of the Lawe bureaucracy.

Instead, what was needed was militant union action not only by the TWU but extending to the other city workers unions and all of NYC labor. As one of the protesters said of the deliberate refusal to maintain the subways: "We didn't create this situation. This was instituted by the banks, by Koch, by Carey. . . . We should have had a one-day general strike in New York City to put the powers that be on notice that we're tired of being blamed for a system that made us victims." The whole subway disaster, from the tunnel of death to the massive cutbacks and layoffs, is a symbol of what working people are facing. Those dead signals and the killing of Jesse Cole not only showed the decay of the city, but the decay of capitalism.

The call for a memorial work stoppage is a fundamental, traditional

union right and duty. The miners even have it written into their contract. And all the more so where the union brother was killed because of the deliberate neglect and sabotage by TA bosses. It *should* have led to a general strike, a direct political challenge to the capitalist politicians, corporations and banks who run the city. Who is responsible for the deadly subway crash? It is TA chairman Ravitch, not underpaid and overworked transit workers, who is ravaging the subways. It is banker Rohatyn who cuts back thousands of transit and other city workers' jobs, making working conditions impossible and destroying essential services. It is Mayor Koch who breaks transit strikes while sending his cops to attack black people in Harlem protesting his closing of their hospitals. So all of NYC labor should have walked out—a big proletarian fist in the face of Simpson/Ravitch/Koch and all of the racist rulers.

Democrats, Republicans—it makes no difference—all the capitalist politicians voted for the killer cuts. These are the phony "friends" supported by sellouts like Lawe—who couldn't even bother to show up for Jesse Cole's funeral—and the "dissidents" who would replace him. The pro-capitalist bureaucrats must be dumped and a class-struggle leadership forged in the unions; this means breaking with the Democrats and building a workers party, to fight for a workers government. The only militant, effective response to the killing of Jesse Cole is a socialist fight to save New York. ■

Interview with Ceylonese Tamil Leader

We print below excerpts from an interview with Mr. A. Amirthalingam, leader of Sri Lanka's Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), currently the main parliamentary opposition to the government of President J.R. Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP).

Last month, in the predominantly Tamil Jaffna peninsula, cops and troops went on a murderous rampage and a state of emergency was declared throughout the island. A recent 8 million rupee bank heist (\$450,000), allegedly by the underground Young Tigers Liberation Movement, and an incident of cop killing provided the pretext for J.R.'s wave of terror (see *Spartacist Britain* No. 33, June 1981).

On May 31, marauding troops and cops burned to the ground at least 48 Tamil-owned shops, the Jaffna headquarters of the TULF and the home of a Member of Parliament (MP). The next day the Jaffna Public Library (one of the best in Asia), the Tamil-language independent paper *Eelanadu* and all the shops in the old market area were razed

which first appeared on May Day 1981, aims at the same kind of coalitionism which in the past has had such tragic consequences for the Ceylonese masses, such as the crushing of the 1971 JVP uprising. Remember: the 1977 massacres in Jaffna were also carried out under the bloody Mrs. B!

The recent anti-Tamil pogrom has served to harden communal divisions on the island, enhancing among the oppressed Tamils the appeal of "Eelam" (a separate Tamil state in Ceylon). The ISL and the newly-formed Spartacist League/Lanka (see *Spartacist* No. 31-32, Summer 1981) stand for the right of the Tamil national minority to self-determination, i.e. the right to a separate state. But we have argued against such a resolution of the conflict, pointing to the enormous misery which partition would cause for the over one million stateless Tamil plantation workers. These estate workers would face the grim choices of remaining in the concentration camp plantations, migrating to refugee camps in the econom-



A. Amirthalingam

WV: The first question I'd like to ask is about the current wave of government terror against the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. How did it begin? Is it a significant escalation from before?

Amirthalingam: The police and army terror has been unleashed on them on several occasions. It actually started when, at the World Tamil Conference in 1974, the police attacked a peaceful, cultural meeting and nine Tamils died as a result. Then again in 1977 the police set in motion forces which caused widespread rioting and killing of Tamils throughout the island. In 1979, under cover of stamping out guerrillas, again violence was unleashed on the Tamil youth.

The latest outbreak was on the eve of the elections to the Development Councils. It started on the 31st of May and went on until about the 7th or 8th of June. I will say that the last one was the worst as far as the malicious destruction of cherished institutions is concerned: the destruction of the public library, the only newspaper office in Jaffna, the headquarters of the TULF, the house of the MP, the main shopping center in Jaffna city. All this shows a planned attempt on the part of the police to almost commit cultural genocide against the Tamils. Ninety-seven thousand volumes of valuable books being destroyed in the public library is an unprecedented act of vandalism for which there was no excuse. And no excuse of any type can be given in the future.

WV: One of the things that the government claims in its publicity for the Free Trade Zone is that Ceylon is a good model of democracy. And yet you are a Member of Parliament and the Leader of the Opposition and you were arrested at the time of these attacks. Could you say a little about your arrest and when and why you were released?

Amirthalingam: You see, the claim that Ceylon is a good model of parliamentary democracy is far from the truth. Immediately after independence [1948] one million Tamil workers were disenfranchised and made stateless and up to date the problem of the stateless Tamil plantation workers remains unsolved.

Then the media is almost fully controlled by the government. The Prevention of Terrorism law, the Public Essential Services law are all calculated to enforce under normal conditions things which were done under emergency conditions under earlier governments. So that I reject outright the claims of the government that Ceylon is a democratic government. On the contrary, Mr. Jayewardene's government is going fast on the road to totalitarian dictatorship of the right, on the model of the Philippines and certain other countries which are hangers-on of the imperialist powers.

As far as our arrest goes, that shows the extent to which democracy is

perverted under this government. Police and army officers came to my house at 2:45 in the morning [June 4] and they said that the competent authority had ordered my arrest. When I asked for the charge on which I was being arrested a fantastic charge was mentioned. That was the charge of "disrupting the democratic process." So I asked this officer, "Under what law is this an offense, and what have I done to disrupt the democratic process?" The officer said, "Please don't ask me these things." I had no alternative but to go with him to the army camp, where I was handed over to the custody of a lieutenant. And then the president of my party and two other Members of Parliament were brought there.

Thereafter I think the government had realized that their boast of democracy will be exposed thoroughly if they kept us in custody at the time of the elections. So at about 9:00 the army officers came and said that the president [Jayewardene] wanted to talk to me. He said, "It has all been a mistake. I have ordered your release. I am sorry about it."

But as an afterthought in order to get over the embarrassment, the government information minister issued a communiqué that we were taken into "protective custody." I asked him the pointed question in Parliament: "To protect us from whom? From the police and the army. You ask the police and the army to take us into custody and take us to the army camp to protect us from the army. It is a fantastic situation."

WV: The government claims that their actions and some of the anti-Tamil violence were being provoked by the actions of people they call "Tamil terrorists" like for instance the Eelam Tigers—actions like the bank robbery and some killing of policemen. Do you have any comment on these accusations?

Amirthalingam: On the 31st night, there is no doubt that someone had shot at a policeman and one policeman died immediately. But the reaction on the part of the police makes one suspect the real perpetrators because the rapidity with which the police arrived and the way they behaved make one suspect whether the shooting itself was not done by some agent provocateurs in order to give an opportunity for the police to run riot and attack pre-planned targets. The violence and the terrorization that the police and the army resorted to was out of all proportion to the one incident that took place.

In Jaffna this was, to my mind, a pre-planned affair and it was well organized. The D.I.G., Deputy Inspector General of police who was in charge of the Northern Region, a Tamil officer, had been removed one week before this incident. A Sinhalese D.I.G. was sent there to take charge of the situation. And these 300-odd men who behaved in this way were hand-picked and sent and they were housed in the stadium ostensibly for election duty.

WV: When I was in Jaffna, one of the things that struck me was the presence of soldiers and police on many street corners and a real sense of occupation. How long has the army presence in the Tamil areas been like that?

Amirthalingam: The army was first brought to the Tamil areas in the '60s for the purpose of checking illicit immigration from south India. There was no doubt at that time a certain number of persons who had been sent out from Sri Lanka used to come back that way. Today there isn't even two or three percent of Tamil persons in the police and not even one percent of Tamils in the army. This has now become an army of occupation in the Tamil territories and their only function is to keep down the Tamil movements for the rights and liberation of the Tamil people.

WV: It's not just in the north, though,



Ceylon Tea Centre, London, June 6. In London, New York and Bonn, International Spartacist tendency joined with exile Tamils to protest murderous repression in Sri Lanka.

(see exclusive photos of the destruction and murder on facing page).

The TULF has countered Jayewardene's onslaughts in the streets of Jaffna with parades in Parliament and pro-Tamil proclamations to the United Nations. But, akin to Sun Yat-sen's pre-1923 Kuomintang, the Parliament-oriented TULF has been pushed by bloody repression to the limits of its bourgeois-nationalist politics. In the context of the 1977 pogroms, they adopted a plank for "scientific socialism."

Yet the TULF is now seeking an alliance with the bourgeois, Sinhala-chauvinist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of Mrs. Bandaranaike and other out-of-power parliamentary parties (LSSP, CCP, MEP). This bloc,

ically barren "Tamil Eelam" or destitution in a foreign India.

Our road is the road of united Sinhala/Tamil class struggle. If the communal divisions on the island become unbridgeable, then secession may become the only means to open the way for revolutionary class struggle. But what is needed is a Trotskyist vanguard party, uniting Sinhala and Tamil militants on an anti-chauvinist program to win the masses of Tamil plantation workers, women, Sinhala workers and all the oppressed to fight for a workers and peasants government in Ceylon, part of a socialist federation of South Asia.

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The Face of Anti-Tamil Terror

Spartacist Photos



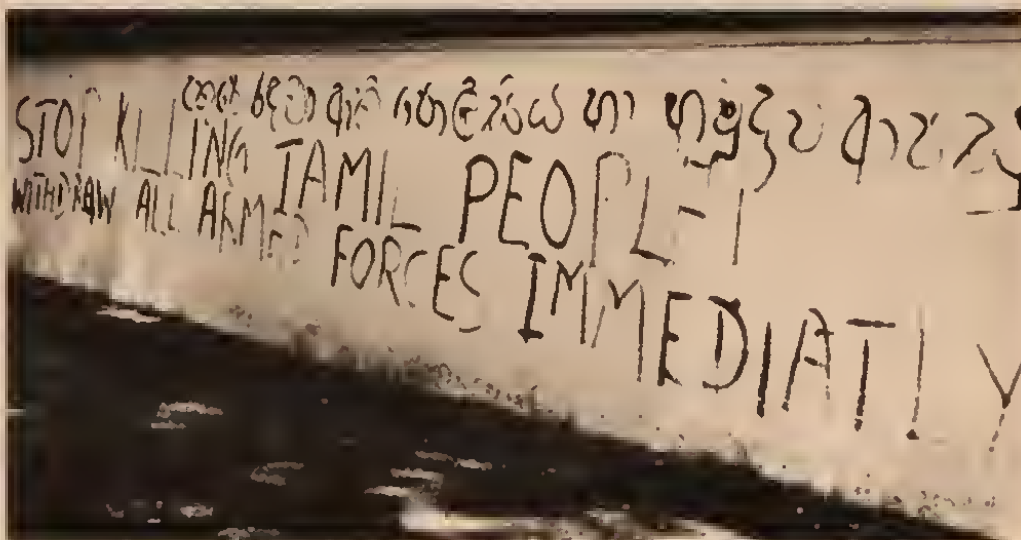
Jaffna: TULF worker Baiasothy of Thampalai, shot in the head by army at house of MP Sivasilhamparam on the night before the elections.



Jaffna public library with ancient archives and stacks destroyed.



House and car of Mr. V. Yogeswaran, Jaffna MP, razed as fires burned citywide.



Colombo: Spartacist League/Lanka was the only voice raised against anti-Tamil violence in the North.

that the Tamils are being attacked. For instance in the education system they've stopped giving courses in Tamil at the other universities outside Jaffna.

Amirthalingam: Yes, certain Tamil streams have been closed down. The excuse they give is that there are not enough Tamil students. Even in the Colombo University. As you know, with the Tamils and the Muslims taken together, Colombo city is more than 50 percent Tamil-speaking. In spite of it, even in the Colombo University gradually the Tamil streams are being dried up.

But the worst discrimination has been in the numbers of Tamil students admitted to the universities. The Tamil students admitted to the various faculties got reduced even below their population ratio. Their ratio was much higher in the past when merit was the basis. Now only 30 percent [of students] are admitted on merit. The rest are admitted on a district basis with the result that the proportion of Tamil students admitted has been reduced very much.

WV: I don't know whether you were aware of struggles against this at Colombo University. Some of our comrades played a leading role and there was, in fact, coordination between the Jaffna University Students Union and these students.

Amirthalingam: Yes, I am aware of that. In fact in matters like this we have taken up the cause of the Sinhalese students.

Even when the recent strike of the workers took place, our union, the Tamil-language unions, also joined in

their strike and we tried our level best to get the government to reinstate the workers whom they dismissed. So that we also have taken up the cause of the Sinhalese students and the Sinhalese workers when they were penalized by the Jayewardene government.

WV: One of the things that the imperialists always did—and the British were very good at this—was to institute policies of "divide and rule." Some observers point to the role that the early establishment of an English-language missionary education system in the north had in the Tamils playing an important role in the administration.

Amirthalingam: You see, the British no doubt played one against the other as is usual with imperialisms. But in the early British period, that is sometime in the early and middle parts of the 19th century, missionaries opened up the English educational institutions. American missionaries, Anglican missionaries, Methodist missions, Church of England schools. They were all opened in the north. Americans were the earliest. The first institution was opened—what they called the "Patikotta" Seminary—in 1813 in Vaddukottai, near my own home. And the Tamil people who were normally very hard-working took to the universities. Because of the arid nature of their soil they cultivated their brains and they became cogs in the wheel of British imperialism. And not only in Ceylon, but in Malaysia, Singapore, Burma.

WV: I wanted to get to a bit about the left movement in Sri Lanka, which has had a strong association with people claiming to be Trotskyist. It seems to us

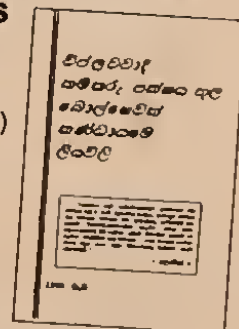
that the record of the left has been very bad on the Tamil question. For instance I believe that the LSSP, when it was a much healthier organization, at the time of independence, accepted a flag with the lion on it, which has a lot of Sinhala symbolism.

Amirthalingam: I was, as a student in the university, a very ardent sympathizer of the LSSP, and I studied Marxism in Dr. N.M. Perera's house, and I even attended Marxist classes in Mr. Philip Gunawardena's house. But when, at the beginning of independence, Mr. Philip Gunawardena, of all people, supported the adoption of the lion flag as the national flag of Ceylon, I felt that they were just politicians and not Marxist revolutionaries in that sense. But I even then continued to have some faith in Dr. N.M. Perera.

**Documents of the
Bolshevik Faction
of the Revolutionary
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(in Sinhala)**

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In '56 when the Sinhala Only Act was introduced, the LSSP headed by Dr. N.M. Perera and the CP, that is the Moscow wing of the Communist Party (of course, at that time they had not split into Moscow and Peking), stood for parity of status and they supported us in our struggle. But within four years, in 1960, after Bandaranaike died, they made an all-out bid to capture power through the polls. When that failed, the Communist Party was the first to capitulate. They accepted Sinhala only, subject to certain rights. And then the LSSP also capitulated.

The surrender to Sinhala chauvinism was complete in 1964 when Dr. N.M. Perera and the LSSP joined Mrs. Bandaranaike's government. At that stage it was only Mr. Edmund Samarakody and Meryl Fernando who broke with them. I was also in Parliament at that time and we all voted together with Edmund Samarakody and Meryl Fernando, and by one vote we were able to defeat Mrs. Bandaranaike's government. From that time onwards the LSSP and the Communist Party started completely aligning themselves with the chauvinist SLFP.

In 1970 when they came to power, they themselves drafted a constitution. Colvin R. de Silva, one of the theorists of the Trotskyist movement, was the Minister for Constitutional Affairs. We met him and talked to him to include at least certain rights for the Tamil language in the constitution. He was worse than Mrs. Bandaranaike in these matters. He was so intransigent. They wanted to convince the Sinhala people that they were more Sinhala than even

continued on page 11

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 12)

on a hit-and-run terror campaign against Nicaragua. The sadistic assassins slip over the frontier to rape and kill, retreating when the troops arrive and seeking sanctuary with the Honduran army. In one incident in April, Nicaraguan troops chased a band across the border near the frontier post of El Guasaule, where they were picked up by Honduran army trucks. FSLN commander Daniel Ortega told a World Peace Council meeting in Havana that the raiders have picked out teenage literacy crusade volunteers as special targets, killing seven and raping more than 15.

To counter this very real danger of a counterrevolutionary invasion, the FSLN has been training volunteers in the Sandinista People's Militia. The Sandinista army already numbers 20,000 and the militia is projected to enroll one in every ten Nicaraguans, or roughly 200,000 men and women. Building the militia has been the main priority this year, and pictures of volunteers from union and student groups appear daily in the FSLN organ *Barricada*. One of the women's brigades is now reportedly armed, a change from previous government policy. Immediately after the overthrow of Somoza, the Sandinistas attempted to round up all arms, even jailing leftists who retained their weapons. Now the militias are trained with arms, which are then locked up—a graphic example of the relationship between the bonapartist FSLN and the working masses.

While arming against the invasion threat, the regional policy of the Sandinistas has been to conciliate dangerous right-wing enemies. Rather than militarily supporting the Salvadoran leftists and seeking to broaden their struggle into a region-wide civil war, Nicaraguan defense minister Tomás Borge declared in Havana that "We are supporters of peaceful coexistence... We will do everything possible to avoid conflicts in Central America" (*Barricada*, 15 June). In May the coordinator of the Nicaraguan governing junta, FSLN comandante Daniel Ortega, met with Honduran strongman Paz in an effort to stop the border incursions, but the raids soon resumed. Chitchat with Paz, whose control over the army in any case is shaky, is no defense at all against the imperialist-organized cabal of military dictators lined up against Sandinista Nicaragua.

The State Department's Fifth Column

Reagan/Haig's strongest allies in their "destabilization" campaign against the Sandinistas are the Nicaraguan capitalists and the bourgeois political opposition which has coexisted uneasily with the FSLN since Somoza's fall. When the FSLN pledged to preserve private industry and to permit their capitalist opponents to organize freely, they allowed an imperialist fifth column

to mobilize for counterrevolution. The remnants of the old Conservative Party, Somoza's puppet opposition, have been slandering the FSLN regime with claims that it holds 8,000 "political prisoners" and has "disappeared" an equal number. The fact is that some 4,000 torturers and assassins of the old regime are in jail, no one has been executed (to the dismay of some of their victims, who justly protested the Sandinistas' leniency), and the special tribunals to try these criminals have been disbanded.

A more serious threat is posed by ex-junta member Robelo and his Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), which has become a lightning rod for bourgeois discontent and an echo chamber for the imperialist propaganda campaign against Sandinista Nicaragua. Robelo, a cooking oil millionaire with extensive holdings in El Salvador and Costa Rica, has worked hand in glove with Washington since before the overthrow of Somoza. More recently, Robelo denounced the expansion of the Sandinista militia on Costa Rican radio, condemning the FSLN for using the threat of foreign intervention as "a pretext to militarize the country" (*Barricada*, 14 March). Within 24 hours a State Department spokesman repeated this denunciation in virtually identical words.

Robelo's biggest provocation to date was his attempt in March to stage a mass anti-government rally in the southern Nicaraguan town of Nandaime. Coincidentally (or perhaps not?), the rally was scheduled to take place at the same time as a border attack by Somoza guardsmen from Honduras. Moreover, shortly before the rally an MDN leader in the area was arrested (later released) in connection with a clandestine arms cache buried on his ranch. When Interior Minister Borge pledged to allow Robelo and his rabble to hold their rally, it didn't go down well with the Sandinista rank and file and some other FSLN leaders. The head of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), Leticia Herrera, called on the population to take to the streets to mobilize against the meeting. Demonstrations of hundreds of students burned effigies of Robelo, and the Sandinista Youth clashed with MDN supporters. The FSLN women's organization circulated a telegram protesting the decision to allow the rally. This angry popular mobilization forced Robelo to cancel the rally.

The Comandantes' Dilemma

The FSLN is performing a delicate balancing act, seeking to conciliate pressure both from the working masses on one side and from the capitalists and U.S. imperialism on the other. Although it has scored economic successes, unemployment remains at 18 percent, shortages are increasing due to hoarding and lack of foreign exchange, and the Sandinista leadership has broken a number of strikes of construction, textile and sugar mill workers (see "Nicaragua on the Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 277, 27 March). Yet all the

concessions to the bourgeois, from staying out of the El Salvador fighting to liberal loans for private businesses, have failed to placate Washington and domestic capitalists. FSLN leader Daniel Ortega explained the comandantes' dilemma: "The pressure at the base is strong. We must understand this and give it an objective, without which we risk finding ourselves without the people and with the bourgeoisie against us" (*Le Monde*, 19 June).

So far, the "objective" offered to the Nicaraguan masses has not been the expropriation of the capitalist class but



Gusano Captain Hook. Too bad he escaped the Bay of Pigs.

a campaign of bogus "national unity" of the exploiter and the exploited. "The workers must sacrifice—from them we need discipline, work, effort and consciousness that the big problems of the country can't be solved overnight," said FSLN comandante Luis Carrión in a speech on January 10 ("El patriotismo, base de la unidad nacional"). And when bourgeois banker Arturo Cruz resigned from the junta in March, marking a step toward an all-Sandinista government, this was balanced by the simultaneous resignation of FSLN "hard" Moisés Hassan. Borge insists that the Sandinistas have not taken the "Cuban road." "Our model," he says, "is framed in a mixed economy, and its synthesis is political pluralism" (*Intercontinental Press*, 6 July).

After the collapse of Robelo's provocation, the next crisis for the FSLN was in its relations with the church. On June 1, the Catholic bishops conference of Nicaragua announced that if four priests serving in the Sandinista-dominated government, including foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto, did not resign their posts they would be considered "in open rebellion and formal disobedience." The government responded that the episcopal letter was unsigned, some of the bishops were out of the country, the pope didn't order the resignations, etc., and encouraged pro-Sandinista religious demonstrations. Borge opined that if Christ "had a submachine gun he would have used it" against the Pharisees. But to no avail.

Meanwhile, thousands of Catholics are making pilgrimages to the village of Cuapa where a sacristan saw a vision of the Virgin Mary on May 8. "The cult of the Virgin of Cuapa is a response to the fear of Communism," one priest said. Robelo announced, "I believe in miracles. I am a Catholic," and a spokesman for Archbishop Obando y Bravo gave his approval, recalling apparitions in "countries going through difficulties." The obvious and ominous reference was to the Virgin of Fátima in Portugal in 1917, whose message was to save Russia from Bolshevism. So the Sandinistas are now reaping the fruits of their alliances with businessmen and the church. The latter now pose a powerful threat of counterrevolution as fundamental class antagonisms deepen.

In answer to the opposition attacks, the FSLN initiated a "Forum for the Discussion of National Problems" in order to have face-to-face conversations with the right wing. The discussions, predictably, have done nothing to

resolve differences between government and bourgeois opposition. But they have registered the adaptation of the one-time left opposition to the FSLN. The Workers Front/People's Action Movement (FO/MAP), whose leaders were jailed last year and whose organ *El Pueblo* was banned for urging land seizures and strikes, now sits beside Sandinista leaders in the bloc of "parties of the revolution" in the Foro. MAP leader Alejandro Gutiérrez explains that "We have abandoned some of the more radical slogans of the first period [after the overthrow of Somoza] because conditions aren't at that level presently" (*Barricada*, 31 May). And the small Nicaraguan Communist Party (PCN), whose CAUS union federation was also a victim of FSLN strikebreaking and repression, has joined the Sandinista bloc. The PCN now advocates workers "participation" in management rather than confrontation with the capitalists.

The Test of El Salvador

Reagan and Haig may have already written off Nicaragua as lost to Marxism; the exiles are feverishly organizing to bring back "Somozaism without Somoza" (or perhaps with Somoza IV). But sophisticated imperialist spokesmen believe the point of no return hasn't been reached. The conservative London *Economist* (13 June) advised the U.S.:

"Nicaragua may not yet be lost. The continued existence of a large private sector shows that the Sandinistas are still in a dither about their revolution. The United States could yet follow Mexico's sound advice to stick a fistful of dollars through a door that remains even a quarter open."

There are also quite a few officials in the State Department who have this view. The *Wall Street Journal* (13 July) quotes one as saying: "Nicaraguans can do Castro's bidding if they choose, but they could do our bidding too." Another U.S. analyst was quoted worrying that if Nicaragua radicalizes and follows the Cuban road, "We're going to have a fight on our hands in El Salvador. It's hard to see how you could win in El Salvador."

The Sandinista-bourgeois government now reaching its second anniversary is facing a series of challenges which will necessarily push Nicaragua off the "middle course" which the FSLN has tortuously sought to steer. As Trotsky pointed out at the time of the Russian Revolution of 1905, and as the Bolsheviks' October Revolution of 1917 confirmed, in the backward capitalist countries emancipation from the imperialist yoke can only be achieved through proletarian revolution. The Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution explains that the Stalinist-reformist/nationalist dogma of a "democratic" stage spells disaster for the working people. Either a popular insurrection must rapidly grow over into socialist revolution or it will prepare the way for bloody counterrevolution, as occurred in China in the '20s and Spain in the '30s.

The most serious test now facing revolutionaries in Nicaragua is posed by the civil war in nearby El Salvador. And following its petty-bourgeois nationalist course of "peaceful coexistence," the FSLN's policies point straight to disaster. State Department propaganda aside, the Sandinistas have, as comandante Daniel Ortega insists, offered nothing to the Salvadoran leftist rebels but "the example of our revolution" (*Newsweek*, 16 March). The FSLN pushes the imperialist-liberal/social-democratic line of a "political solution" with a sector of the murderous Salvadoran junta. In May they even announced that they had arrested people attempting to run guns to the leftist insurgents battling the U.S.-supplied Salvadoran army. Over 9,000 have died so far this year in El Salvador as the Sandinistas assume a "hands off" posture that is closer to that of Pontius Pilate washing his hands of murder and treachery.

Two years ago we wrote, "The present 'unity' of the anti-Somoza revolution

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Ex-PAM Marshal Joins SYL

We print below the application for membership in the Boston SYL of Mark D. who rejected Sam Marcy's counterrevolutionary goon squad to become a Trotskyist.

I first found out about the SL just before the May 3 demo from one of their members who was distributing copies of the party papers in Cambridge. He talked to me about the situation in El Salvador and tried to convince me that I should join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Washington. I had already made plans to march with PAM though, and had a seat reserved on one of their buses, so I felt committed to this decision.

I did pick up a copy of *Workers Vanguard* though, and was fairly impressed at the time with their unique position on El Salvador: Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents. At the time though, I did not realize how important it was to build a true Anti-Imperialist Contingent. I thought my participation in PAM's demo was enough of a statement against the Junta and its conniving U.S. government financiers. I had also been considering joining Workers World Party. For about a year-and-a-half I had been listening to all the left groups that were around and I had friends in their party. I'd decided that they were the best I'd heard. I had taken part in several of their demonstrations in Boston and had gone to the March 22, 1980 anti-draft demo in Washington with them, so I wasn't interested in going to Washington with another group.

When the May 3rd weekend came around I was on a bus with the PAM group. On the way down a PAM organizer asked for volunteers to help "police" the march. She said that "marshals" were needed to help keep



May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent, Washington, D.C.

the demonstration as orderly as possible and explained that the Moonies could be expected to show up and attempt to disrupt the march, and try to organize a counterdemonstration. I volunteered because I had seen how the Moonies had tried to cause trouble at the March 22 demo a year before, and I certainly wouldn't mind putting a few of them down.

On arriving in Washington, the newly appointed marshals were given instructions on crowd control and told that if the Moonies tried to break into the main demonstration we marshals would be called into the area and would link arms and keep them separated from the demo.

The march began and I walked along the edge of the crowd, keeping an eye out for trouble. As I'd expected the march went along very smoothly, and I could not see any disruptions or problems arising at all. About two hours into the march though, one of the organizers came up and told me

and the other marshals to run ahead to the second bridge, that the Moonies were on the move and were causing trouble there. I ran up there and could see that there was indeed trouble. People were being pushed and shoved around—but it was the march organizers who were doing the pushing and shoving—and the "Moonies" were in fact the Spartacist League.

I couldn't believe what I saw. SL members were trying to sell copies of *Workers Vanguard* to the marchers and were being thrown out of the march for doing so. They were challenging the marchers to "take sides," to fight for "Military Victory for the Left-Wing Insurgents," they were explaining that "Defense of the USSR Begins in El Salvador" and they were being silenced by the bourgeois-liberal-Democratic reformists from the People's Anti-War Mobilization. The march organizers told all of the marshals there to link arms and make a barricade to keep the

SL out. I refused to do it. I realized that all along I was being lied to by the PAM organizers. I didn't see any Moonies around at all that day.

PAM realized that if they wanted to stop the SL demonstration, they'd have to justify it to us by saying "it's the Moonies" trying to stop the march. I realized I wouldn't want to be a member of any "revolutionary" group that sets up goon squads to silence true Marxists while herding their supporters into the Democratic Party. I found out that day which side of the class struggle these groups are on. After witnessing PAM's politics in action, politics which were representative of every left group I knew, I read *Workers Vanguard* on the bus home and decided then that I wanted to join the SYL.

As a member of the SYL I will fight for and defend the building of picket lines—not the crossing of them; defense of Cuba and the USSR beginning in El Salvador; the mobilization of labor and minorities against the Klan and Nazis and all fascist groups; and stand for the Military Victory of the Left-Wing Insurgents in El Salvador. I am also convinced that in order to lead the world proletariat in a socialist revolution, we need a strong Leninist vanguard party. The SL is this party. I will abide by the discipline of the party and I will work to learn more about Trotskyism and revolutionary politics. This is the first time in years that I have actually felt motivated to really learn something and I am very anxious to get started. I believe that I can learn more as a member of the SYL by fighting for socialism than I could by standing on the sidelines. I look forward to working in the SYL and hope that my application is accepted.

Mark D.

will be shattered, one way or another, by class conflict" ("What Next for Nicaragua," *WV* No. 238, 17 August 1979). We noted that while the "government" was an unstable Sandinista/bourgeois coalition, real power lay with the FSLN guerrilla army—which, however, was not presently wedded either to capitalist or proletarian property forms. This petty-bourgeois bonapartist regime could go in opposite directions: along the "Cuban road" to a bureaucratically deformed workers state, or on the "Algerian road" reconstituting a bourgeois state under the sway of Yankee imperialism. And we stressed: "There is another road, along which lies the real hope for the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution: the emergence of the working class as an independent conscious contestant for power."

With its Cold War II program to

"draw the line against Communist expansion" in El Salvador, the Reagan administration may well push the Sandinistas to go farther than they wished on the Cuban road. But "socialism in one banana republic" is no more viable than "socialism in one island." The only real defense of the beleaguered Nicaraguan masses, encircled by American-backed dictatorships and facing a counterrevolutionary "destabilization" campaign, is to expropriate the branch-office bourgeoisie and extend proletarian revolution throughout the region. And that requires the leadership of a Trotskyist party of permanent revolution to stand at the head of the working masses. As long as the Robelos continue to exercise a stranglehold on the Nicaraguan economy, as long as the vise of capitalist military dictatorships has not been smashed, revolution in

Nicaragua is in mortal danger.

Break with the bourgeoisie! For workers and peasants governments throughout Central America! ■

Garza...

(continued from page 2)

portray the IT as "terrorists." Garza's document recounts efforts on her part to contact the SWP following her subpoena for pre-trial deposition. She says she asked the SWP for legal help and told them she wanted to be a "friendly witness"; the SWP refused collaboration. Maybe it was just sectarianism, but it suggests that the SWP above all did not want to present itself to the government as having any possible interests in common with the expelled IT.

The *Militant* charges Garza with rehashing an FBI slander in her comment that "My own feeling is that we were thrown out of the party precisely so the SWP could not be tainted with terrorism...." Garza's 17 June statement refers to the SWP's use of the IT expulsion in court and Judge Griesa's own conclusion, which we have quoted previously in our press:

"There was never anything in my view, beyond the most tenuous suggestion of a possible implication of violence in the U.S. In view of the ouster of the minority faction, I believe that tenuous suggestion has been basically eliminated."

That the SWP used the expulsion of the IT to display its anti-"terrorist" respectability is not slander; it is fact. What the FBI is saying when it claims the SWP expelled the IT to enhance its court position is that the expulsion was a legal fiction for a hypocritical SWP which secretly agrees with the IT's positions. This is nonsense. Of course, as far as the

FBI is concerned, all left organizations are part of a world Communist conspiracy; the existence of different tendencies represents merely a division of labor among latent Russian spies, terrorists and dupes. We wonder if the SWP undertook the destruction of Hedda Garza merely as a way to dramatize the idiocy of the FBI's line.

Garza's conduct in court on June 12; though visibly subjectively hostile to the SWP, did no damage to the SWP's case. Her testimony on González Moscoso was fully consistent with that of the SWP. Hedda Garza is no government link. On the basis of the evidence available to us, the SWP, whatever its purposes, has done the deepest and most savage kind of injury to Hedda Garza. Jack Barnes' reformist party stands condemned as vicious liars.

A more substantial article on the SWP court suit will appear in the next issue of *WV*. ■

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Britain Burns...

(continued from page 1)

and austerity. This conflagration highlights the absence of revolutionary leadership of the working class. The British Labour Party wants to save Britain from Thatcher in order to save it for capitalism. Thus it is content to snipe at the unpopular Thatcher from its benches in Parliament and wait for its turn at the polls.

Cops Out of the Ghetto! Down with the Riot Courts! Drop the Charges!

The comparisons with Northern Ireland were unmistakable, pervasive and striking. Running street battles with riot-helmeted cops; brick walls being torn apart for ammunition; youths flinging petrol bombs; CS gas never before used for crowd control in "mainland Britain." The experience of imperialist repression in Ireland is today being looked to for new nightsticks, new riot gear, new police training, new courtroom procedures and even the army. Bemoaning the difficulty of securing convictions before juries, Thatcher mooted the use of "juryless court trials" for rioters, à la the notorious [anti-IRA, no-jury] Diplock courts. Liverpool City Council requested that the army be placed on standby. "It would be a sorry day if we had to have an army on the streets on the mainland of Britain" declaimed Home Secretary William Whitelaw—even as the army on the streets of Belfast carried out an obscene show of force at hunger-striker Joe McDonnell's funeral when the "snatch squad" shot and arrested Republican honour guard.

When the black population of South London's Brixton exploded against the racist cop occupation three months ago, a year after a similar event in Bristol, we wrote that this "evokes the palpable feeling that Britain is coming apart at the seams" (*Spartacist/Britain*, May 1981). Unlike Bristol and Brixton (and also the ghetto rebellions in the U.S. in the 1960s) the conflagration of the past ten days is not simply or even predominantly racial. It is not a case of black or Asian youth fighting the cops while the white population at large generally sympathises with the forces of "law and order." In Liverpool, Manchester and elsewhere desperate white youth joined with blacks in burning Thatcher's Britain. The London *Times* (6 June) described what happened in Toxteth as "the sudden fusing of elements common to black and white youths." This, probably more than anything else, has shaken the British ruling class about the fragility of its "civilisation."

Southall, the first incident to leap into the headlines as a "riot," was in fact a case of outright community self-defence against fascist terror. When several hundred fascist skinheads swarmed into the Hambrough Tavern for a "rock jig," a thousand Asian youths came out on the streets to surround the pub. While the police cordon kept the Asian youth at a distance, fascists who had been escorted to safety out of the burning pub proceeded to run riot on the nearby streets. "They should put the skinheads in the gutter," said one white woman resident later. And by the time the evening was over, 61 cops had been injured, 23 arrests made (15 of them Asian youth!) and a number of the fascists *had* been put in the gutter, in some cases by youths armed with sticks and hammers.

"We want to survive; it is as simple as that," said a community spokesman afterwards. And it is as simple as that. Only the day before the Hambrough fascist rally, the residence of a Pakistani family was burned out, killing a young woman and her three sons. And the Southall Asian community no doubt remembers that two years ago the cops

killed Blair Peach at an anti-fascist demonstration. Now, confronted with a manifest unwillingness of the cops to stop the fascist scum, Southall youth threaten to organise self-defence squads.

Painfully aware of the potential cost of racist polarisation, the bourgeois press abandoned its normal stance of denying the fascist threat. Even Thatcher decided to "condemn fascist organisations," and Whitelaw once again invoked a month-long ban on marches in London under the Public Order Act (originally directed against the hunger marchers of the 1930s). That was all it took to stop an ill-prepared anti-fascist march in Islington, but it did not stop 70 fascist thugs from marauding the area, carrying out random assaults on leftists.

Now is the time for powerful workers defence guards organised in common with the black and Asian communities to sweep the fascists into the gutter for good. *Smash the Public Order Act—Mass Labor Action to Crush the Fascists! Drop the Charges Against the Southall 16!*

It is no accident that Britain's "long hot summer" started in Liverpool, a city which epitomises the country's social decay. So when on July 4 the cops moved en masse into Liverpool 8 they met the fury of black and white youth alike, armed with bricks, sticks and petrol bombs. Riot shields dropped by the retreating cops were triumphantly picked up by the youths; a hose being used to control the crowd was captured and turned on the cops. In the first two nights, nearly 200 cops had been injured and 70 youths arrested. A line of buildings down Upper Parliament Street stood gutted and burned, including the National Westminster Bank and the posh businessmen's Racquets Club. At the same time, several community centres were conspicuously left standing. And accompanying the street action was the looting: some of it random and aimless, some of it a chance to acquire something which subsistence in Liverpool 8 made a luxury—like the new fridge being pushed out of one shop by a mother and child, some of it clearly the work of rather more professional types who moved in like vultures.

Bankrupt Capitalism, Bankrupt Reformism

While the gutter press tried desperately to conjure up "outside agitators" behind it all, and the Chief Constable of Merseyside denounced "black hooligans... indulging in criminal activities," the bourgeoisie's more sensible mouthpieces knew better—and they were worried. The *Economist* (11 July) found Toxteth a "conscious rebellion against property and police," proof that this generation of jobless, unlike their grandfathers in the 1930s, would not "wait for an official war before starting to fight." And above all, the ruling establishment wrung their hands in open consternation that, confronted with massive social unrest, they were saddled with a political leader whose grasp of social reality seemed to start from the nightmare fantasy that the good grocer's daughter was about to be violated by a red-starred Mongol horde.

This murderous bourgeoisie will not balk at upgrading police fire power and repression to maintain its "law and order." But Thatcher was treating unemployed youth in England, white as well as black, no differently than she treated the Irish Republican hunger strikers. While cabinet "wets" and Labourites alike bemoaned the social overhead of Thatcher's brutal economic policies, the truth is that they have no viable alternative. Britain cannot pay for the sort of token aid programs bestowed by the American ruling class upon its ghettos after the upheaval of the '60s. Even the *Economist's* piddling proposals for expanding the number of apprenticeships as was done in Germany ignores the painfully obvious fact that in Germany there are profitable industries to employ apprentices! The "central problem" is that British capitalism is down the tubes; Britain is bankrupt.

Life in Liverpool 8 does not afford the luxury of illusions—purveyed by a myriad of fake communists—that Tony Benn's parliamentary road to tepid "socialist policies" offers any hope out of the misery of Thatcher's Britain. And of course, true to form, Benn hid in his sickbed throughout the week and said nothing about the battle between Thatcher's cops and ghetto youth. Labour Party leaders Dennis Healey and doddering Michael Foot attacked Tory economic policies for leading to... the breakdown in law and order. The *Militant* tendency, perennial "Trotskyite" reds under Tony Benn's bed, were catapulted into the headlines for a Liverpool LPYS (Labour Party Young Socialist) leaflet demanding that the charges against the "looters" be dropped. Yet what these tame reformists called for was "democratic control of the cops."

The upheavals of the past week were certainly not race riots, as portrayed by the tabloids—even though Toxteth and Brixton in particular were immediate responses to racist cop occupations. What Britain witnessed was a wave of elemental outbursts by the victims of a capitalist society in the throes of terminal decay. They were primarily a reaction—not a rebellion, much less a coherent social struggle—against oppressive racism, against cop harassment, against the despair of a future which promises a dole queue [unemployment line] from womb to tomb, and also against the cruel hoax of the small-change parliamentarist reform.

But the uncritical glorification with which the fake-Trotskyist International Marxist Group and the anti-Soviet workerist Socialist Workers Party treat the Liverpool 8 upsurge reflects nothing more than their usual pollyannaish raving over the "masses in motion." Random looting and firebombing of small shops, many of them Asian-owned, are not only anti-social but self-defeating acts—when the smoke blows away the ghetto is that much harder a place to live in. Certainly with a cop dragnet carrying out massive indiscriminate arrests, we demand that all the charges against the "rioters" be dropped—cops out of the ghettos! But these essentially apolitical upheavals of

lumpenised youth can go in many directions. Thus while Toxteth was primarily a response to a cop occupation of a black community, that was not the case in the white Liverpool suburb of Kirkby (where the fascists have grown dramatically in the past 18 months), when a mob of white youths reportedly taunted the cops they were fighting as "nigger lovers."

In their ferocity Britain's street battles demonstrate the massive pent-up frustration with this arrogant Tory government and its intolerable economic austerity. A militant labour movement would take to the streets in massive demonstrations that would bring down the Tory government and smash the fascists, galvanising anger against Thatcher into powerful struggles for the interests of the working class and its allies. It could pull behind it the blacks, Asians and unemployed youth demanding: An end to all racist discrimination and immigration laws! Free higher education for all, skills trained at full pay! For trade-union/black defence guards to crush the fascists! For decent housing, social services and jobs for all! Such a movement would show the way out of Britain's economic disaster through the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

George Orwell once remarked that it was hard to imagine a revolution in such a law-abiding country as England. Well, it is not hard to imagine now. But neither is it hard to imagine a fascist counterrevolution. Black and Asian youth have little choice but to fight to survive. However, many of the white youth who today lob bricks alongside them can lob bricks *against* them tomorrow. Their despair of a decent future, their hostility not only to Margaret "Let them eat cake" Thatcher but to the piddling reformism of the Benns and Len Murrays can be mobilised behind a fascist crusade for a "white Britain." But the vision of red revolution, of the socialist reconstruction of this most decayed capitalist society, can also inspire Britain's millions of desperate youth. The flames which swept from Liverpool 8 to London's Brixton this past week illuminate the fundamental choice before Britain: socialist revolution or fascist reaction. ■

Chicago Exclusion...

(continued from page 3)

would be severely shaken by a leftist victory in the civil war. And they look to the imperialists to broker such a deal. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent countered this dangerous illusion with the chant: "Remember Bay of Pigs, remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!"

For the last month the Chicago left has been in an uproar over the cop exclusion. Even the People's Antiwar Mobilization, controlled by Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF), was pitched into turmoil over the events of May 30. WWP/YAWF/PAM are among the most frantic of the reformists seeking to slander, physically exclude and attack the SL. At the PAM-sponsored May 3 Pentagon march they built a platform for imperialist liberals while linking arms to prevent marchers from joining an anti-imperialist rally initiated by the SL. Outside a talk by WWP guru Sam Marcy in New York City June 6, Spartacist supporters had to administer a lesson in workers democracy to a frenzied Marcyite goon squad which attacked an SL demo with ten-foot wood planks and broken bottles (see "YAWF Goons Beaten Attacking SL Demo," *WW* No. 283, 19 June).

But in Chicago, the Marcyites are feeling the heat from some of their coalition partners. A few days after the May 30 demonstration, Chicago PAM

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passed a motion *against* the police exclusion. The WWPers who run PAM now refuse to produce this motion, and when at a subsequent PAM internal meeting the SL statement of protest was read, Marcyites leaped to their feet shrieking to "table" the discussion. (Obviously their anti-exclusion motion is a worthless sop.) Then at a June 21 public PAM meeting, the contradiction between WWP/YAWF's fear of revolutionary politics and their need to placate bloc partners exploded. A Spartacist sales team was first told it could set up a literature table along with other organizations in the hall; when they returned three minutes later with more literature, the door had been locked. Through the glass you could see a CWP supporter attempting to open the door while Marcyites blocked his way and the rest of the motley coalition bickered in the background.

The latest shot in the Stalinists' war of lies is a leaflet being passed around by the NWRC aimed at setting up the SL for exclusion and repression by the capitalist state. The Trend's slander sheet begins with an elaborate attempt to portray the AP wirephoto of the May 3 Pentagon march (centering on SL banners calling for military victory to Salvadoran leftists) as an imperialist plot. (This theme has become so common that it's a wonder they don't claim the Anti-Imperialist Contingent arrived in Washington in a sealed train paid for by the German general staff.) Along with easily disproved lies—like the claim that the cops only moved in when the SL prepared to join the march (they were there from the word go)—it contains valuable admissions. First, it *never denies* that the Coalition called in the police and tries to argue that the SL brought it on itself by refusing to follow the "planned order of marching, which placed them at the rear." So our "crime" is refusing to go to the back of the bus. The leaflet also tacitly admits that it was the NWRC which initiated the confrontation at the June 29 film showing by trying to "move them [the SL] toward the door" for trying to win people to the Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

With the usual cloying nastiness of Stalinists trying to sound like Quakers, the NWRC leaflet asserts: "The truth is that behind the slogan of 'military victory' lies the real SL position of *political opposition* to the forces which can alone bring that victory—whether it is the FDR in El Salvador, the MPLA in Angola, or the NLF in Vietnam." Why stop there? What about Mao in China and Stalin in Russia? *Our* political victory was a rather good proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917, led by Lenin and Trotsky. But then there was a politically limited counterrevolution under Stalin giving rise to a hideously deformed nationalist regime, suppressing any germ of workers democracy. The same bureaucratic regime was reproduced in the China of Mao and his heirs. That is *your* political victory. But we defend these states against imperialist attack—where do you stand? You *oppose* calling for military victory to Salvadoran leftists and for defense of Cuba and the USSR!

The heart of this classic smear job is to cop-bait on political grounds: "We see a political line which consists mostly of opposing everything from the 'left'—an easy line for an infiltrator to parrot." You see, left equals right in the best 1984 Stalinist tradition. Then a pious note: "We hope the SL is not developing along the lines of the former National Caucus of Labor Committees"—a repetition of the Marcyite "neo-fascist" insinuation, a technique straight from Stalin in the '30s when the Trotskyists were accused of being agents of Hitler and the Mikado *and then murdered*. And the ominous end: "*We will be closely watching the conduct of the SL in the next period, to see whether we can still afford to regard them as part of the left. We welcome your comments on this subject.*"

You want comments? Okay. To begin

with, this is a vicious apology for thug attacks and cop exclusion. And you are watching from very far to the right as the whole reformist swamp—from the CP to the Marcyites and renegades from Mao—tries to cement a bloc with a wing of the Democratic Party. Can you "afford" political debate with the Trotskyist SL? Apparently not, for this same gang (and don't forget the "peaceful-legal" social democrats of the Socialist Workers Party) has repeatedly resorted to violence in a vain attempt to silence the Spartacists. Now you "unite" with the repressive forces of the capitalist state against the revolutionaries (forgetting who will be next on the cops' hit list), justifying this betrayal with slander. May 3, May 30, June 6—it's the same story, but this time the reformist finks and goons did their dirty work in a particularly blatant, stupid manner—and got caught.

Given the way this gang has been going—tailing the tail of the Democrats, who are tailing Reagan—they're already *politically* a good way out of the workers movement. It would indeed be better if they would at least defend some of the rights of the revolutionary left. But in the present context we are expecting a hard time from the government—which tries to write off all socialists as agents of "Soviet terrorism"—and they've made it clear whose cheering squad they're on. These treacherous reformists-for-a-political-solution in the midst of a raging civil war in El Salvador have all the backbone of an uncooked egg yolk. It's a far cry from the tens of thousands in the late '60s who called for a military victory to the Viet Cong. But in all the Kremlin's "détente" fantasies and the excuses for Peking's counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism (Angola, Vietnam, Afghanistan and now U.S. arms to China), this is long forgotten.

The Spartacist League is the *only* left tendency which openly supports a victory on the battlefield for the heroic insurgents in El Salvador. For us, proletarian internationalism is more than a slogan. It means fighting everywhere for the cause of the exploited and the oppressed—not some kind of treacherous "unity" with the class enemy. The line is drawn in El Salvador—which side are you on? Down with the junta—workers to power! Military victory to the Salvadoran leftists! Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in El Salvador! ■

Tamil Leader...

(continued from page 7)

Mrs. Bandaranaike.

Mr. Edmund Samarakkody and others broke away and formed a group, which they then split into two, Mr. Bala Tampoe's group and Edmund Samarakkody's group, and they were nowhere as far as the elections are concerned in 1965 and subsequently, and they lost all popular support.

I should say, to the discredit of the LSSP, in 1970 they were part of the government. For the first time, strikes by unions were completely smashed up and people were dismissed by the government with so-called Marxist ministers in office. So that their record, not merely on the Tamil question, but even on the general working-class question, after a certain stage is very, very unsatisfactory.

WV: We have always regarded the action taken by Samarakkody and Meryl Fernando in refusing to vote for the coalition as a very honorable and courageous stand and an important, decisive break from coalition politics. The SLFP has been a party that has always been notorious for its Sinhala chauvinism, and so we see it as very bad to make alliances with them. I wonder how you can see the way free to make a bloc with them for last May Day?

Amirthalingam: No. You see, we had made it very clear. We are not entering into any electoral alliance or any

alliance with them. To oppose the UNP government's anti-peoples actions we felt united action by the entire opposition is called for. There were five matters that we placed before the people. One, the removal of the subsidies, food subsidy and other subsidies. Number two, their anti-working-class legislation in the form of the Essential Public Services law. And their so-called Prevention of Terrorism law. Fourth, their attempt to deprive certain opposition party leaders of their civic rights and political rights and thereby stifle opposition altogether and take the country on the road to a one-party totalitarian government. Number five, their action against the strikers last July in dismissing them. We felt that on these five matters only, we joined hands with all these parties, that is, the SLFP, the LSSP, the MEP (that is formerly Mr. Philip Gunawardena's party) and Mr. Shanmugathan's wing of the Communist Party. We felt that united action was necessary; otherwise J.R. Jayewardene will install a dictatorship of the right.

WV: I've seen reports that in an independent Eelam, Trincomalee might become the capital. It's one of the best naval harbors in the world, an historically very important strategic center, and there are a lot of reports about the Americans being very interested in having it as a base. I wonder what your attitude to that is and in particular what you think the attitude of the Indians might be to this, especially since India is in a military alliance with the Soviet Union.

Amirthalingam: I think that is one of the most important points of potential conflict in the South Asian region. I have openly said in Parliament and outside that any move by this government to give any facilities to America in Trincomalee would be opposed by us, and I made that an issue because the Prime Minister issued a press statement on the 25th of May, when he returned from the Philippines wherein he said that the Defense Agreement with Britain of 1947 is still in force as far as the UNP government is concerned.

I know that India is very much concerned with that and very much alarmed and this will bring Ceylon, Trincomalee and the Indian Ocean into the vortex of big power struggle.

WV: There are many millions of Tamils in India itself. Do you think there is a real prospect of an Indian intervention if, for example, the independence struggle came to a major crisis in Tamil areas?

Amirthalingam: You see, the 45 million Tamils in south India are themselves not their own masters. They have been only part of the larger Indian setup. As to what may happen in the future, we know, taking all these matters together: Trincomalee Harbor, the possibility of an American base being given there, the Indian attitude toward that and our struggle—all these things may create a situation of intervention by outsiders in this struggle.

WV: You certainly must be familiar with the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, which says that in order to end national oppression you have to go forward to the socialist revolution. I wondered how you envisage an independent Eelam. Is it going to be a capitalist state, or a socialist state?

Amirthalingam: In our manifesto in 1977 we categorically stated that scientific socialism is our objective. We did not want to just say socialism, because everybody calls themselves socialists. Even Jayewardene calls himself socialist. And we have said that the Tamil Eelam will be a fully socialist country where exploitation of all types and distinctions based on caste, all that is abolished. And it will give fraternal support to the Sinhalese to establish a socialist state in their part of the country.

WV: If there was created an independent Tamil Eelam in the North and Eastern

Provinces, what do you think would happen to the Tamil plantation workers and the other Tamils, for instance in the Colombo area. Often when you've had partitions of this sort, say India and Pakistan, they have been accompanied by forcible population transfers or communal slaughter.

Amirthalingam: But in spite of all the forcible population transfers, there are 100 million Muslims yet in India. After Bangladesh and Pakistan separated, there are more Muslims in India today than in Bangladesh or Pakistan taken individually.

But as far as the plantation Tamils are concerned, once their status in Sri Lanka is decided, then we will know what the number is that we have to deal with. You know after every outbreak of violence against Tamils in those areas, more and more are migrating to the Tamil areas. So that there is a transfer of population daily taking place. We need not forcibly do such a thing.

WV: But you have to agree that what's happening now brings a lot of hardship with it.

Amirthalingam: It does, and particularly in the context of there being no machinery to provide for them. But I think if we have the machinery to look after them, the bulk of them may be able to develop the lands in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

WV: What do you envisage as a settlement for the Sinhala settlers who moved into the Eastern Province and into areas under the Mahaweli?

Amirthalingam: In our manifesto we put in: full language rights, full rights of citizenship in Tamil Eelam.

WV: Our new group Spartacist League/Lanka has put a lot of emphasis on the effort to seek a joint class struggle between the Tamil and Sinhala working classes. We would like to see, rather than a partition, a bi-national workers state.

Amirthalingam: The unfortunate situation is that left movements inside Ceylon, including that new left, the JVP, they are all essentially Sinhala-oriented. The JVP, in their lectures delivered to their recruits in 1970, before their insurgency, one was on Indian expansionism. It was not Indian expansionism, it was essentially directed against the plantation Tamil labor and they believed in destroying the plantation industry and the plantation laborers. Even the Communist Party has at least said that the right to self-determination should be recognized. Of course they say that the right to secede is not there.

I have openly said that if any revolutionary left movement grows in the south which is prepared to recognize our right of self-determination, we are prepared to throw in our lot with them in a common struggle. But unfortunately I don't see the prospects of a force like that emerging in the south. And in the meantime, before that happens, we run the risk of being crushed altogether. So we have to struggle by ourselves.

If there is a movement of sufficient strength among the Sinhalese which recognizes our right of self-determination—including secession, as the Bolshevik Party in Russia under Lenin put forward before the revolution—we are prepared to join hands with them in a common struggle. Maybe at the end of it we may agree to work out some way of living together.

WV: We would certainly say that the right of the Tamils to self-determination must be recognized and that the Tamil question is an acid test for revolutionists.

Amirthalingam: I have seen the document signed by your group. I appreciate very much the stand that has been taken there. But it will take a long time for your group to gather sufficient momentum to be a force with which we can align there. Certainly, on any common issues, we are prepared to join hands with them in struggle. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America!

Sandinista Nicaragua Under Reagan's Guns

At the second anniversary of the ouster of the tyrant Somoza, Sandinista Nicaragua faces a many-sided campaign of "destabilization" by U.S. imperialism and the domestic capitalist opposition. From Washington to the would-be Iron Triangle of military regimes in Central America, preparations are under way to reimpose the "democracy" of the M-16, napalm and the Huey helicopter. Utopian appeals for "national unity" by the leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) have run onto the rocks of irreconcilable class antagonisms. The "new Nicaragua" must go forward to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie or the masses will suffer in misery under restabilized capitalist dictatorship—either decreed by the petty-bourgeois bonapartist FSLN or inflicted over its dead body. And only a socialist mobilization of the working masses, not just in Nicaragua but throughout the isthmus, can defeat the counterrevolutionary threat.

"Détente" deals are dead. The Republicans came to power on the back of Carter's Cold War crusade vowing to roll back the "Marxist Sandinista takeover of Nicaragua." Once in office, the Reaganites have pushed Managua to the wall, vituperating against "a Soviet plan to communize Central America and use that land bridge as a dagger pointing north and south" (*New York Times*, 16 May). Having made El Salvador the nexus of its anti-Soviet war drive, continuing the Carter Democrats' support to the murderous junta, Reagan/Haig threaten Cuba and Nicaragua with dire consequences over their (unfortunately) mythical aid to leftist Salvadoran rebels. But just who is it that is exporting "international



19 July 1980: Sandinista army celebrates first anniversary of Somoza's defeat.

Franken/Sygma

terrorism" around the world, and to Central America in particular?

- Recalling the days before the Bay of Pigs invasion 20 years ago, Miami's "Little Havana" is overflowing with armed men in camouflage uniforms. In the swamps of southern Florida a reported 600 Nicaraguan exiles, most of them former officers and mercenary

troops of ousted dictator Anastasio Somoza, have been training alongside anti-Castro Cubans for what they say is an imminent attempt to overthrow the Sandinistas.

- Somozaist gangs under the protection of the Honduran military dictatorship have recently stepped up their murderous attacks. In less than two weeks in June, 16 Nicaraguans were killed by the terror raiders. Altogether, well over 100 FSLN supporters have been killed by the counterrevolutionary marauders since the "jackal of Managua" was overthrown on July 19, 1979.

- Last month the State Department raised a hue and cry over supposed shipments of Soviet tanks from Cuba to Nicaragua. "We see nothing to justify" such armaments says General Haig. But U.S. sources note that Managua presently has "no armor and no air force." And the Secretary of State neglected to mention that neighboring Honduras recently received 20 British Scorpion tanks.

The story on the economic and diplomatic front is no different. After blackmailing the FSLN to forswear any aid to left-wing insurgents in El Salvador, the U.S. announced April 1 that it was cutting off all economic aid to the Sandinista regime anyway. Earlier a \$9.6 million "Food for Peace" wheat sale was canceled, and now Washington is threatening to stop imports of Nicaraguan beef unless Managua cancels plans to purchase Cuban breeding stock. For anyone who has trouble

figuring out what's up, the *New York Times* (2 April) reported that "some State Department officials are also known to favor a policy of first 'strangling' the Sandinist Government economically and then... 'financing dissident groups'." And the Somozaist counterrevolutionaries received the message loud and clear: the cancellation of American aid "encouraged right-wing Nicaraguan exiles to step up attacks from inside Honduras and to start planning a full-scale invasion" (*New York Times*, 5 April).

Terrorists Made in U.S.A.

None of the Somozaists' provocations would be possible without the permission (and in fact encouragement) of United States authorities. With plenty of money and guns, linked to similar exile brigades scattered around Central America, these *gusanos* (worms, as they are known in Cuba) swaggering before *Parade* magazine and ABC-TV cameras are eagerly awaiting the word from their friends in the CIA to stage Bay of Pigs II in Nicaragua. "I think we'll be ready in two months," one spokesman said in April. "But we can't wait six months," said another exile. "By then the Sandinists will be too strong. The green light has to come soon from the United States" (*New York Times*, 2 April).

The *somocistas* in Honduras, with backing from at least some sectors of the divided Honduran military, are carrying

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Kausny/Sygma

No secret: Ex-Somoza National Guard killers and Cuban gusanos train in Florida to overthrow FSLN regime.